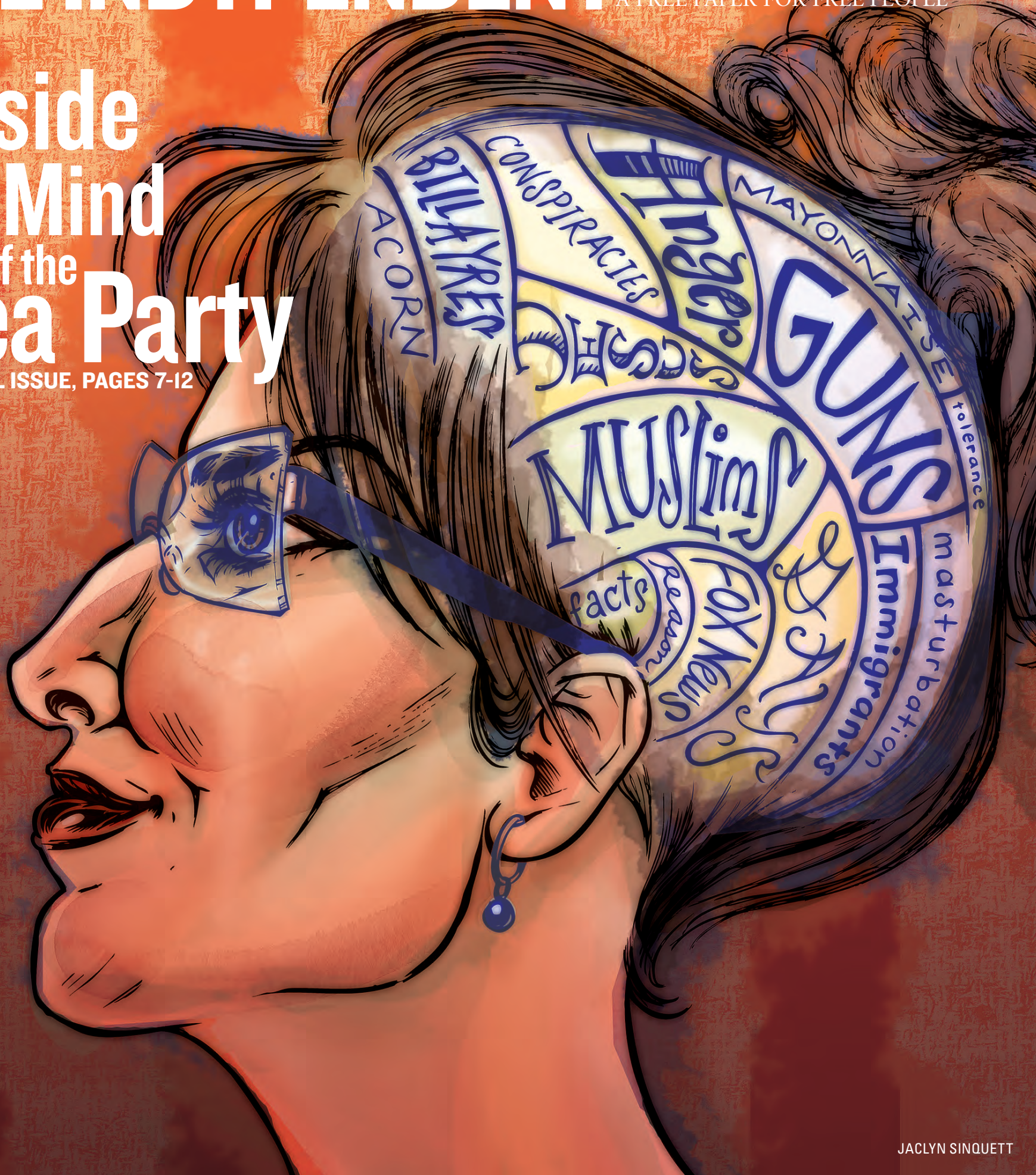


# THE INDYPENDENT

Issue #157, October 20 – November 16, 2010  
A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

## Inside the Mind of the Tea Party

SPECIAL ISSUE, PAGES 7-12



JACLYN SINQUETT

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*The Indypendent* is affiliated with the New York City Independent Media Center, which is part of the global Indymedia movement, an international network that is dedicated to fostering grassroots media production, and to *IndyKids*, a children's newspaper. NYC IMC is an open publishing website (nyc.indymedia.org.)

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# community calendar

PLEASE SEND EVENT ANNOUNCEMENTS TO INDYEVENTS@GMAIL.COM.

## **FRI OCT 22**

3pm • Free  
PROTEST: STOP POLICE BRUTALITY. Join the October 22 Coalition to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation for their 16th annual protest against police brutality. There will be a teach-in followed by a rally and march.  
Union Square Park South  
866-235-7814 • october22-ny.org

7pm • Free  
BENEFIT: BINGO-WEEN FOR BOOKS THROUGH BARS. Join Books Through Bars for their annual Bingo Fundraiser. Prizes include: \$100 tattoo from NY Adorned, IFC year-long membership, magnificent meals at Pure Food & Wine and Caravan of Dreams, sex toys from Babeland and more. Costumes are encouraged. All proceeds will be used to buy postage to send free books to prisoners.  
ABC No Rio, 156 Rivington St  
212-254-3697 • abcnorio.org

## **SAT OCT 23**

7pm • \$15 suggested  
BENEFIT: BROOKLYN POETS AGAINST WAR. Come listen to readings by Tina Chang, poet laureate of Brooklyn; Donald Lev, publisher of *Home Planet News*; Daryl Wise, author of *Poems and Other Stuff*; and Sapphire, author of the novel *Push*. This event is sponsored by Brooklyn For Peace and the Park Slope United Methodist Church's Social Action Committee. Reception and refreshments to follow. Park Slope United Methodist Church, 410 6th St, Bklyn  
718-788-2114 • brooklynpeace.org

## **SUN OCT 24**

4pm • Free  
DISCUSSION: SOLUTIONS TO CAPITALIST ECOLOGICAL CRISIS. Join acclaimed writers, John Bellamy Foster, editor of *Monthly Review*, and Chris Williams, author of *Ecology and Socialism*, for a discussion of the environmental crisis — its causes, but most important, possible solutions. This event is co-sponsored by *Monthly Review* and Haymarket books.  
New York University Kimmel Center, Rm. 802, 60 Washington Sq. South  
917-573-0708 • monthlyreview.org

## **MON OCT 25**

6pm • Free  
CONCERT: DIEGO ALVAREZ MUNOZ AND AQUILES BAEZ. These two talented musicians — one a percussion-

ist and the other on guitar — will play a rich repertoire of Venezuelan and Latin American songs.  
Venezuelan Consulate, 7 E 51st St  
ven.newyork@gmail.com

## **THU OCT 28**

6pm • Free  
OPENING: G/IRL-WOMEN PHOTOGRAPHERS EMERGING IN DIGITAL CULTURE. G/IRL showcases the work of women using digital culture to explore and establish a life in photography. The show includes work of "prodigies" Olivia Bee and Lauren Withrow, as well as established artists such as Lauren Ward and Kava Gorna.  
G/IRL Pop Up Gallery, 300 West 22nd St  
646-438-9549 • artcat.com

7pm • \$5  
SCREENING: A LITANY FOR SURVIVAL — THE LIFE AND WORK OF AUDRE LORDE. Come learn more about Audre Lorde, a black lesbian, poet, mother, teacher and activist whose writings articulated some of the most important social and political visions of her era. Snacks provided. A discussion will follow the film.  
Freedom Hall, 113 West 128th St  
212-222-0633 • socialism.com

## **FRI OCT 29**

7pm • \$20/\$10 students  
DIALOGUE: IN THE AGE OF OBAMA, PART II: POLICE TERROR, INCARCERATION, NO JOBS, MIS-EDUCATION. Come listen to a dialogue between Cornel West and Carl Dix about what the future holds for our youth. Proceeds to benefit Revolution Books and the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund.  
Aaron Davis Hall, 150 Convent Ave  
212-281-9240 • harlemstage.org

## **SAT NOV 6**

9am-6pm • \$20/\$10 for students and low-income individuals  
CONFERENCE: THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND LEFT RESPONSES. The future is especially uncertain, and "the new normal" may prove to be very difficult, economically and politically. This conference will focus on a discussion of leftist solutions to the current crisis. Speakers will include David Harvey, Rick Wolff, Fred Moseley and Anne Jaclard.  
One Pace Plaza, 161 William St  
888-579-2245  
marxisthumanistinitiative.org

8pm • \$15 suggested  
CONCERT: HARMONIC INSURGENCE AND ROY ZIMMERMAN AT THE

# OCT—NOV

## UPCOMING EVENTS

# THE BRECHT FORUM

*BUILDING A MOVEMENT  
THAT MOVES*

451 West Street (btw Bank and Bethune)

## **SUN OCT 24 • 2PM**

DISCUSSION: REPORT FROM KABUL: A CONVERSATION WITH KAYHAN IRANI. Kayhan Irani will discuss her recent trip to Afghanistan, where she presented a series of Theater of the Oppressed workshops with theater activists from throughout the country. Co-sponsored by the Theater of the Oppressed Laboratory. Sliding scale: \$6/\$10/\$15

## **THU OCT 28 • 7:30PM**

STRATEGIC VISIONS SERIES: WORKER COOPERATIVES: A 21ST-CENTURY COMMUNISM? This event brings together members and developers of both new and old worker cooperatives from New York and New Jersey to discuss the future of the worker cooperative movement. Sliding scale: \$6/\$10/\$15

## **MON NOV 15 • 6PM**

PARTY: BRECHT FORUM 35TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. Join Brecht Forum, the largest and longest-running Marxist educational center in the U.S., as they honor professor David Harvey and organizer Bhairavi Desai as a part of their 35th anniversary celebration. Special location: Local 32BJ, 101 Avenue of Americas  
Sliding scale: \$35-\$250

## **FOR INFORMATION AND TICKET RESERVATIONS**

brechtforum.org  
or 212-242-4201

PEOPLES' VOICE CAFE. A cappella vocal ensemble that sings music from many cultures in four-part harmony, plus singer-songwriter who brings the sting of satire to the struggle for peace and social justice.  
Community Church of New York  
Unitarian Universalist, 40 East 35th St  
peoplesvoicecafe.org

## **MON NOV 8**

7:30pm • Free  
PANEL: GROUND ZERO TOLERANCE: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND AMERICA'S CULTURE WAR. Come listen to a discussion of the controversy over the Park 51 Cultural Center. Panelists include Zead Ramadan, chairman of New York Council on American-Islamic Relations; Wendy Kaminer, lawyer and social critic; Kristen Salomey, correspondent for Al Jazeera; and journalist Brendan O'Neill. The discussion will be moderated by Alan Miller, co-director of NY Salon.

Wollman Hall, The New School, 65 West 11th St  
nysaloninfo@yahoo.com • nysalon.org

## **WED NOV 10**

6pm • Free  
SCREENING & DISCUSSION: DRAWING THE LINE: SEX AND CONSENT, A CONVERSATION ABOUT THE LANGUAGE OF RAPE. Women's eNews invites you to attend a film screening of *The Line*, followed by a panel discussion featuring Kelly McBride of the Poynter Institute; Joseph Samalin, the Coordinator of Training & Technical Assistance at Men Can Stop Rape; and filmmaker Nancy Schwartzman.  
WeNews Headquarters, 6th Fl, 6 Barclay St • 212-244-1720 • womensenews.org

## **SIGN UP TO RECEIVE OUR WEEKLY ONLINE CALENDAR VIA EMAIL AT INDYPENDENT.ORG.**

## WHERE DO I GET MY COPY OF THE INDYPENDENT?

### **BELOW 14<sup>TH</sup> ST.**

WBAI - 99.5FM  
120 Wall St., 10th floor

Bluestockings  
172 Allen St.

Housing Works  
126 Crosby St.

ABC No Rio  
156 Rivington St.

Tompkins Square  
Public Library  
331 E. 10th St.

Mercer St. Books  
206 Mercer St.

New York Public Library  
Jefferson Market Branch  
Sixth Ave. & 9th St.

Brecht Forum  
451 West St.

4th Street Food Co-op  
58 E. 4th St

Theater for the New City  
155 First Ave.

DC 37 Headquarters  
125 Barclay St.

**14<sup>TH</sup> TO 96<sup>TH</sup> ST.**  
Jefferson Market Library  
6th Ave & 10th St.

Chelsea Square  
Restaurant  
23rd St. & 9th Ave

Manhattan  
Neighborhood Network  
537 W. 59th St.

Housing Conservation  
Coordinators  
777 Tenth Ave.

New York Public Library  
Muhlenberg Branch  
209 W. 23rd St.

St. Agnes Branch Library  
444 Amsterdam Ave  
(btwn 81st and 82nd)

### **ABOVE 96<sup>TH</sup> ST.**

New York Public Library  
George Bruce Branch  
518 W. 125th St.

Book Culture  
526 W. 112th St.

New York Public Library  
Harlem Branch  
9 W. 124th St.

New York Public Library  
Hamilton Grange  
Branch  
503 W. 145th St.

Uptown Sister's Books  
156 St. & Amsterdam

Bloomingdale  
Branch Library  
150 W. 100th St.

**BROOKLYN**  
Brooklyn Museum  
200 Eastern Pkwy.

BAM  
30 Lafayette Ave.

Vox Pop  
1022 Cortelyou Rd.

Tillie's of Brooklyn  
248 DeKalb Ave.

Tea Lounge  
Union St. & Seventh Ave.

Video Gallery  
310 Seventh Ave.

Ozzie's Coffee Shop  
249 5th Ave. &  
57 Seventh Ave.

Verb Café  
Bedford Ave. & N. 5th St.

Videology  
308 Bedford Ave.

Pillow Café  
505 Myrtle Ave.

Sisters Community  
Hardware  
900 Fulton St.

Brooklyn Public Library  
Pacific Street Branch  
25 Fourth Ave.

K-Dog & Dune Buggy  
43 Lincoln Rd.

Outpost Café  
1014 Fulton St.

Blackbird Café  
197 Bedford Ave.

'sNice Café  
315 Fifth Ave.

Purity Diner  
43 Underhill Ave.

Brooklyn  
Public Library  
Bedford Branch  
496 Franklin St.

### **BRONX**

Brook Park  
141st St. & Brook Ave.

Mi Casa Cafe  
18 Bedford Park Blvd E.

### **STATEN ISLAND**

St. George Library  
5 Central Ave.

Port Richmond  
Branch Library  
75 Bennett St.

Everything Goes  
Book Café  
208 Bay St.

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**WHEEL DEAL:** Former Staten Island bus driver Larry Hanley was elected president of the 180,000-member Amalgamated Transit Union on October 1, vowing to organize a nationwide outreach program to mass transit passengers. PHOTO: ATU.ORG

## RADICAL BUS DRIVERS UNITE

BY JOHN TARLETON

In 1996, Staten Island bus riders began to encounter clipboard-toting students who asked them to help with a cause they couldn't refuse: lowering their own fares.

Hired by the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 726, which represents Staten Island bus drivers, the students signed up thousands of bus riders who became the back-

bone of a movement that successfully pushed Governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudy Giuliani to have the MTA buy bigger express busses and use the cost savings to reduce fares. Once enacted, this quickly caused ridership to soar and led to the hiring of hundreds of additional bus drivers.

Now, Local 726's former president President Larry Hanley will look to take that same kind of grassroots organizing fervor across the country after winning an insurgent campaign to take the helm of the 180,000-member national ATU at a time when mass transit is getting hammered by budget cuts and layoffs.

"The real battles in coming years are going to be won by organizing the public, not by litigating before a judge, not by begging Congress," Hanley told *Labor Notes* shortly before being elected on Oct. 1 at the ATU Convention. "We have to convince people that green jobs matter, and that transit is the greenest job you're going to find."

Hanley helped found the Keep America Moving coalition in February. Leaders from 60 transit worker locals from across the country convened in New York to plan an aggressive fightback strategy that the then-leadership of ATU was not willing to act on. John Samuelson, president of Transit Workers Union Local 100, strongly supported the initiative. TWU Local 100 represents the bulk of transit workers in New York City and has also been seeking to build alliances with community organizations to stave off service cuts and layoffs.

Supporters of mass transit have tried without success to interest President Obama (who won handily in urban areas two years ago) in providing more operating support for mass transit at a time when state and local budgets are cratering. Mass transit advocates have been stymied in Congress where the highway lobby receives the vast majority of federal transportation dollars as rural and suburban representatives outnumber urban ones. Congress has also left unchanged a 1998 law that requires cities with populations above 200,000 to use their federal funds only for capital expenses and not for operations.

On Oct. 13, Hanley convened a meeting of representatives from major transit and labor groups to begin preparing a nationwide outreach program to mass transit passengers. According to the union's website, the first step envisioned was to bring ATU activists from key cities to a series of "boot camps" in the Washington, D.C., area where they would be trained in community organizing so they could use those skills back home to create local coalitions to pressure legislators to support mass transit. Coalitions like the one that succeeded in Staten Island.

For more information, see [keepamericamoving.org](http://keepamericamoving.org) and [atu.org](http://atu.org).

## Defending Public Education

On Oct. 7 thousands of people throughout 32 states, including California, Illinois and New York, participated in the National Day of Action to Defend Public Education. The demonstrations drew attention to budget cuts tuition hikes at public universities throughout the country. There were several actions were held at CUNY campuses in New York City, including demonstrations at Brooklyn College, the City College of New York and Queens College. There was also a rally in Harlem where CUNY students were joined by Harlem hospital workers, as well as union and tenant activists, to bring attention to widespread attacks against the public sector.

— SAKURA KELLEY



**EDUCATION IS A RIGHT:** A mother and her two daughters participate in an Oct. 7 march through Harlem that was part of the National Day of Action to Defend Public Education. PHOTO: SAKURA KELLEY

## Beyond Bullying



Hundreds of people gathered in Washington Square Park on Oct. 3 to honor the memory of five queer youths who died in a recent string of suicides caused by homophobic bullying and harassment.

TEXT AND PHOTO BY SAKURA KELLEY



**RUN,  
BENNETT,  
RUN!**

While only a fraction of the size of the ATU, the National Organization of Legal Service Workers/UAW Local 2320 is also experiencing a spirited election campaign this fall. Reformers within the 4,000-member union say their leadership has been slow to respond to government budget cuts and layoffs. The opposition slate is led by Bennett Baumer, a tenant organizer on the West Side of Manhattan who has covered labor and housing issues for *The Independent* since 2004.

"Unions are being beat back everywhere and we need a new plan," said Baumer, who is running against the union's incumbent president Gordon Deane.

Founded in 1977, Local 2320 represents legal aid attorneys, secretaries, paralegals and others employed by state or federally funded legal service agencies and public interest organizations. The union's membership is scattered across the country with its largest units in New York and Chicago.

Baumer, 31, says he would draw on his past experience as a tenant and labor organizer to shift Local 2320 away from a business union model that treats members as passive recipients of the union's work toward being an activist union in which members organize and mobilize to fight for their own interests and those of the people they serve.

Ballots were sent out Oct. 12 and will be counted Nov. 5. "It's difficult to unseat a union incumbent," Baumer said. "But, we're making a good run at it."

For more information, see [baumerlevy.com](http://baumerlevy.com) and [nolsw.org](http://nolsw.org).

— J.T.



# Ready for a Freedom Party?

BY JOHN TARLETON

When New York State Democrats gathered at their nominating convention in May, they chose an all-white ticket of statewide candidates headed by a standard-bearer, Andrew Cuomo, who has put forward a program that would balance the state's \$9 billion-plus budget deficit at the expense of working-class people.

The Cuomo coronation continues, but he will be joined on the fall ballot by outspoken Brooklyn City Councilmember Charles Barron after activists with the Freedom Party surprised many political observers by gathering 43,000 ballot signatures this summer, almost three times the legally required amount.

The *Independent's* John Tarleton recently spoke with Barron about the nascent Black- and Latino-led party and why he is running for governor on its line.

**JOHN TARLETON:** *You have made race a central focus of your campaign. Why?*

**CHARLES BARRON:** Everything — unemployment, inadequate healthcare, miseducation, police terror — comes out of racism and classism, because elites want to maintain control over the wealth. We have to confront race and keep it on the front burner, because when we deal with race and see it as a structural and institutional problem, that's how we're going to address the real issues in our communities.

**JT:** *How would you describe the relationship between the Democratic Party and Blacks and Latinos?*

**CB:** It's a master-slave relationship. Let's face it, we have a Democratic president, a Democratic U.S. Senate, a Democratic House of Representatives, a Democratic Governor of New York, a Democratic State Senate, a Democratic State Assembly and a Democratic City Council. Yet, despite the empowerment of the Democrats, every negative social indicator you can think of is the worst in Black and Latino communities.

The Democrats have taken our votes for granted, the Republicans have ignored us and a lot of the white, left, progressive groups have used us. They may run a candidate here and there but when it comes to our real urban issues they're not there for us, either. That's why we have to have this Freedom Party.

**JT:** *And this is why you want a party that's Black and Latino led?*

**CB:** Led by Blacks and Latinos but open to all, open to everyone to join. The interests of the progressive white community will be our interests as well.

Historically, we've joined white-led parties. When we first came out of slavery we joined the party of Lincoln. In 1932, we joined the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt, saying he had a New Deal. There wasn't any deal for us but we joined him anyway. We've also joined white left parties, where white males dominate the leadership. Why not have a Black- and Latino-led party that's going to be progressive on the issues, fight for structural change and look out for *all* of the working-class families in the state?

**JT:** *As governor, what would you focus on?*

**CB:** The big issue we have to deal with is the redistribution of wealth and income. Another issue is land control — whoever controls the land also controls development within our communities.

**JT:** *What will the Freedom Party do after Nov. 2?*

**CB:** We'll have our first convention in 2011 and begin to build our platform, structure our party and look at branching out to other places across the country, including New Jersey, Connecticut, Washington, D.C., Atlanta and Mississippi. So we're looking to make it a national party and structure it here, locally, in this state.

**JT:** *You joined the Black Panther Party when you were 18 years old and more than 40 years later still refer to yourself as a "Black Panther in spirit." What did you learn from your experience with the Panthers that has helped you?*

**CB:** It showed me that we can win. Even though the Panther Party is not around, we won in the sense that we raised the consciousness of a generation to the level of revolution. It gave me an ideological and a philosophical base for struggle so you don't get lost once you get involved in the system — because none of us are going escape some kind of involvement in capitalism.

**JT:** *Are you surprised that the economic crash of 2008 has been followed not by the emergence of a mass movement that questions capitalism, but instead by the Tea Party?*



**'BLACK PANTHER IN SPIRIT':** Brooklyn City Councilmember Charles Barron is running for governor. Photo: SAKURA KELLEY

**CB:** The contradictions on Wall Street are still here, and the contradictions with America having all of this wealth and poverty at the same time — all this wealth and we don't feed all our children, all of this wealth and we have indigenous people on reservations — those contradictions are still glaring. And the Freedom Party is going to highlight those contradictions so that people will light the spark for a movement that will radically alter the political landscape of America.

For more information, see [freedompartynys.com](http://freedompartynys.com).

## A Guide to the Third Party Candidates

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

Your choice in this year's gubernatorial election is between two main candidates: Democrat Andrew Cuomo,



**ANTI-PROHIBITION:** Kristin Davis  
PHOTO: CAMPAIGN WEBSITE

who promises to freeze state workers' pay and "reform" (cut) their pensions, rules out raising taxes on New York's 63 billionaires and has one paragraph about housing costs in his 250-page platform. Or Republican Carl Paladino, a bigoted billionaire who made a fortune renting real estate to state agencies, but now wants to "take a baseball bat to Albany," slash Medicaid and put the unemployed in re-education camps to teach them personal hygiene.

There are other alternatives in the race. The left-environmentalist Green Party is running Howie Hawkins, a Syracuse environmental and union activist. Brooklyn City Councilmember Charles Barron (D-East New York), noting that the Democrats' statewide slate is exclusively white, has organized the Freedom Party. Housing activist gadfly Jimmy McMillan has the Rent Is Too Damn High line. Kristin M. Davis, the former madam whose escort service brought down former Gov. Eliot Spitzer, is the candidate of the Anti-Prohibition Party, which is running long-time anti-prohibition activist Randy Credico against Charles Schumer (D-NY) for the Senate. (Credico is also on the Libertarian line.)

Hawkins is campaigning on a platform of a "Green New Deal." According to campaign manager Mark Dunlea, if the state taxed the rich — stopped rebating the \$16 billion in annual stock-transfer taxes to

Wall Street, levied a 50 percent tax on bankers' bonuses, and returned tax rates to what they were in the 1970s — 95 percent of New Yorkers would get a tax cut, and New York would go from a \$8 billion deficit to a \$26 billion surplus. That money could then be used for a "WPA-style jobs program" that would expand mass transit, convert heat and electric utilities to alternative energy, and retrofit and weatherize buildings. The Greens also advocate single-payer healthcare, a ban on "hydrofracking" for natural gas and the legalization of marijuana.

Barron says the overriding issue is economic justice. "The bottom line is power," he says. "We cannot allow them to balance the budget on the backs of working-class people. We have to have leverage to tax the rich." The party also supports free tuition at city and state universities, lowering or eliminating the subway fare and single-payer healthcare, rather than the "bogus" Obama plan.

Davis, as might be expected from her party's name and her previous occupation, is advocating the legalization of marijuana, prostitution and gay marriage. Although she is a libertarian, "generally opposed to government intrusion in the marketplace," she says that in New York, "without rent control and rent stabilization, the cost of housing would shoot out of sight."

If any of these candidates wins 50,000 votes, their party will get a guaranteed line



**RENT IS TOO DAMN HIGH:** Jimmy McMillan  
PHOTO: FLICKR

on the ballot for the next four years. If they don't, the party will have to collect at least 15,000 signatures every time it wants to run a candidate for a statewide office, and New York's election laws are quite picky — and the major parties' lawyers often quite vindictive — about what constitutes a valid signature. The Greens won a ballot line in 1998, but failed to get the votes needed to keep it in 2002 and 2006.

*Continued on page 15*



# A Mosque Grows in Brooklyn

By ALEX KANE

When a mosque and Islamic community center in Sheepshead Bay were formally proposed in the summer of 2009, the estimated 200 Muslim families living in the south Brooklyn neighborhood greeted the news happily. For many years, they've had to travel to mosques in Bensonhurst, Canarsie and Bay Ridge.

But the proposed project at 2812 Voorhies Ave., which was approved Oct. 13 by the city Department of Buildings, is now facing a storm of opposition, some of it from outside the community. The main opposition group, a group of local residents called Bay People Inc., has mobilized since last winter over concerns about increased traffic, parking problems, noise and property values.

Bay People and other opponents also have an agenda aligned with anti-Muslim groups and individuals that have been stoking opposition to mosques around the city and country. On its website, Bay People states that "the neighborhood residents are mostly of Italian/Russian/Jewish/Irish descent and will not benefit from having a mosque and a Muslim community center."

In addition, the group is opposed to the Muslim American Society's (MAS) affiliation with the project, claiming that MAS is associated with the Muslim Brotherhood and has links to radical Islam and terrorism. (Rep. Michael McMahon, who represents parts of Brooklyn and Staten Island, asked for an FBI probe into MAS, which concluded that there was "no indication whatsoever that the Muslim American Society is affiliated with any organization that threatens our national security," according to the *Staten Island Advance*.)

MAS is working with the Sheepshead Bay Muslim community to back the mosque and center, which will have English as a second language and computer classes and workforce development programs. Those closely involved with the project say the focus will be on providing local Muslim youth with a positive place to go, but that it will be open to anyone.

"What they're trying to do is put up all

this community, there are churches, there are synagogues, and now it's time to have a mosque."

Backers of the mosque say that concerns over logistical issues have been addressed and that the opposition stems from anti-Muslim



**NO TEA FOR PROPOSED MOSQUE:** John Press, above, the head of the Brooklyn Tea Party, has been protesting the proposed mosque, calling Islam a "hostile political doctrine." PHOTO: SAKURA KELLEY

**STOP ISLAMOPHOBIA:** Elaine Brower, left, a member of the New York City Coalition to Stop Islamophobia, has been organizing support for the proposed mosque and the Muslim and Arab communities. PHOTO: SAKURA KELLEY

bigotry. Parking problems will not increase because most families live within walking distance and the early-morning call to prayer won't be broadcast outside, they say. Theresa Scavo, the chair of Community Board 15, which serves Sheepshead Bay, dismissed concerns over traffic problems, saying that in New York City, "traffic is everywhere."

The community board has no formal say over the project, although it has held hear-

"We recognize the importance of the 'clash of civilizations,' and the Muslim American Society is a proponent of Sharia law. We believe that Sharia law is antithetical to Western freedoms," said Press. He doesn't live in Sheepshead Bay, but he said that "a few" Tea Party members do.

There have also been demonstrations to support the proposed project. On Sept. 26, dueling rallies lined both sides of Voorhies Avenue.

"We arrived, and we thought we went back to the '50s. There were signs all over people's houses [reading] 'Muslims go home,'" said Elaine Brower of Staten Island, a member of the New York City Coalition to Stop Islamophobia. "If people don't stand up against it in unity and show support for Muslims and Arabs in this country, it's only going to get worse."

Despite the vitriol, Alloway Ahmed, the owner of the property at 2812 Voorhies Ave., is moving forward with the plans. Ahmed, a Yemeni-American and longtime Brooklyn resident, estimated that more than \$1 million in funds will need to be raised. He hopes construction will begin in the next few months.

"What is right is going to prevail," said Ahmed. "We believe we are on the right track, because we believe we are sending a good and positive message."

Go to [indypendent.org](http://indypendent.org) for a longer version of this article.

**"It's absolutely unjust... for [Bay People] to basically try to monopolize Sheepshead Bay and make it a Muslim-free zone."**

these smokescreens to propagate fear in that community to not allow the [Muslim] community to build, and it's absolutely unjust... for them to basically try to monopolize Sheepshead Bay and make it a Muslim-free zone," said Debbie Almontaser, a prominent Muslim interfaith activist. Almontaser is the board chair for the Muslim Consultative Network, which has been working with the local Muslim community to combat the opposition. "If you look at the history of

ings about it. "They have every right to build it," said Scavo.

Opponents of the mosque have leveled anti-Muslim accusations during a series of heated protests, including a June 27 rally where one Sheepshead Bay resident threatened to "bomb the mosque" if it's built, according to the *Brooklyn Paper*. John Press, the head of the Brooklyn Tea Party, which demonstrated alongside Bay People on Sept. 26, calls Islam a "hostile political doctrine."

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# The Neverending War Story

BY TOM ENGLEHARDT

Because the United States does not look like a militarized country, it's hard for Americans to grasp that Washington, D.C. is a war capital, that the United States is a war state, that it garrisons much of the planet and that the norm for us is to be at war somewhere (usually, in fact, in many places) at any moment.

Similarly, we've become used to the idea that, when force doesn't work, our response, as in Afghanistan, is to recalibrate and apply some alternate version of the same under a new or rebranded name — the hot one now being “counterinsurgency,” or COIN — in a marginally different manner. When it comes to war, as well as preparations for war, more is now generally the order of the day.

This wasn't always the case. The early republic that the most hawkish conservatives love to cite was a land whose leaders looked with suspicion on the very idea of a standing army. They would have viewed our hundreds of global garrisons, our vast network of spies, agents, Special Forces teams, surveillance operatives, interrogators, rent-a-guns and mercenary corporations — as well as our staggering Pentagon budget and the constant future-war gaming and planning that accompanies it — with genuine horror.

The question is: What kind of country do we actually live in when the so-called U.S. Intelligence Community lists 17 intelligence services ranging from Air Force Intelligence, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency to the National Reconnaissance Office and the National Security Agency with a cumulative 2009 budget estimated at more than \$75 billion?

What does it mean when the military-obsessed Bush administration, which, year after year, submitted ever more bloated Pentagon budgets to Congress, is succeeded by one headed by a president who ran, at least partially, on an antiwar platform and who then submitted an even larger Pentagon budget? What does it mean when the Obama administration, after surveying nearly eight years and two wars' worth of disasters, decided to expand the U.S. Armed Forces rather than shrink the U.S. global mission?

## MILITARY BASES

What kind of a world do we inhabit when, at a time of mass unemployment, the American taxpayer is financing the \$220 million upgrade of Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan, including new “water treatment plants, headquarters buildings, fuel farms and power-generating plants.” And what about the U.S. air base built at Balad, north of Baghdad, which has 15 bus routes, two fire stations, two water-treatment plants, two sewage-treatment plants, two power plants, a water bottling plant and the requisite set of fast food and retail outlets, as well as air traffic levels sometimes compared to those at Chicago's O'Hare International?

What kind of world are we living in when a plan to withdraw most U.S. troops from Iraq leads the Pentagon to issue new contracts of almost a billion dollars to increase the number of private security contractors in that country?

What do you make of a world in which the U.S. military has robot assassins in the



**APACHES OVER BAGHDAD:** With garrisons around the planet and military spending greater than the rest of the world combined, the United States is saturated with the weapons, methods and culture of war. PHOTO: FLICKR

skies over its war zones, 24/7, and the “pilots” who control them from thousands of miles away are ready on a moment's notice to launch missiles—“Hellfire” missiles at that—into Pashtun peasant villages in the wild, mountainous borderlands of Pakistan and Afghanistan?

What does it mean when, for our security and future safety, the Pentagon funds the wildest ideas imaginable for developing high-tech weapons systems? Take, for example, Boeing's advanced coordinated system of handheld drones, robots, sensors, and other battlefield surveillance equipment slated for seven army brigades within the next two years at a cost of \$2 billion and for the full army by 2025; or the Next Generation Bomber, an advanced “platform” slated for 2018; or a truly futuristic bomber, “a suborbital semi-spacecraft able to move at hypersonic speed along the edge of the atmosphere,” for 2035? What does it mean about our world when those people in our government peering deepest into a blue-skies future are planning ways to send armed “platforms” up into those skies and kill more than a quarter-century from now?

Do you ever wonder why one of our most successful businesses involves the sale of the same weaponry to other countries?

In September 2009, the *New York Times* Pentagon correspondent Thom Shanker, for instance, wrote a rare piece on the subject headlined, “Despite Slump, U.S. Role as Top Arms Supplier Grows.” The article cited a congressional study that noted the United States, with \$37.8 billion in arms sales (up \$12.4 billion from 2007), controlled 68.4 percent of the global arms market in 2008.

In sales to “developing nations,” the United States inked \$29.6 billion in weapons agreements, snagging 70.1 percent of the market. Russia was a vanishingly distant second at \$3.3 billion, or 7.8 percent of the market. In other words, with 70 percent of

the market, the United States actually has what, in any other field, would qualify as a monopoly position — in this case, in things that go boom in the night.

War is now the American way, even if peace is what most Americans experience while their proxies fight in distant lands. Any serious alternative to war is increasingly inconceivable.

In Orwellian terms then, war is indeed peace in the United States — and peace is war.

“Newspeak,” as George Orwell imagined it, was an ever more constricted form of English that would, sooner or later, make “all other modes of thought impossible.” “It was intended,” he wrote in an appendix to his novel, “that when Newspeak had been adopted once and for all and Oldspeak forgotten, a heretical thought ... should be literally unthinkable.”

## WHAT IS VICTORY?

When it comes to war (and peace), we live in a world of American Newspeak in which alternatives to a state of war are not only ever more unacceptable, but ever harder to imagine. If war is now our permanent situation, it has also been sundered from a set of words that once accompanied it. It lacks, for instance, “victory.” The smashing “victory” over Saddam Hussein in the First Gulf War only led to a stop-and-start conflict now almost two decades old that has proved a catastrophe.

Achieving victory no longer seems to matter. War U.S.-style is now conceptually unending, as are preparations for it. When George W. Bush proclaimed a Global War on Terror, conceived as a “generational struggle” like the Cold War, he caught a certain U.S. reality. In a sense, the ongoing war system can't absorb victory. Any such endpoint might indeed prove to be a kind of defeat.

No longer has war anything to do with the taking of territory either, or even with direct conquest. War is increasingly a state

of being, not a process with a beginning, an end and an actual geography.

Similarly drained of its traditional meaning has been the word “security” — though it has moved from a state of being (secure) to an eternal, immensely profitable process whose endpoint is unachievable. If we ever decided we were either secure enough, or more willing to live without the unreachable idea of total security, the American way of war and the national security state would lose much of their meaning. In other words, in our world, security is insecurity.

And “peace” itself? Simply put, there's no money in it. Of the nearly trillion dollars the United States invests in war and war-related activities, nothing goes to peace. No money, no effort, no thought. The very idea that there might be peaceful alternatives to endless war is so discredited that it's left to utopians, bleeding hearts and feathered doves. As in Orwell's Newspeak, while “peace” remains with us, it's largely been shorn of its possibilities.

What a world might be like in which we began to seriously scale down the U.S. global mission, close those hundreds of bases — as of 2010, there were almost 400 of them, macro to micro, in Afghanistan alone — and bring our military home is beyond imagining. To discuss such obviously absurd possibilities makes you an apostate to America's true religion and addiction, which is force. However much it might seem that most of us are peaceably watching our TV sets or computer screens or iPhones, we Americans are also — always — marching as to war. We may not all bother to attend the church of our new religion, but we all tithe. We all partake. In this sense, we live peaceably in a state of war.

*Tom Engelhardt runs the Nation Institute's TomDispatch.com. This article is adapted from his latest book, The American Way of War: How Bush's Wars Became Obama's (Haymarket Books).*



# FEAR AND LOATHING WITH THE TEA PARTY

BY ABBY SCHER

LAS VEGAS — I recently received a slick email showing South Asian immigrants at a parade praying on Madison Avenue. It came with the breathless statement that Muslims have taken over America for Allah, making the false claim that every Friday in Manhattan, worshippers flow out of packed mosques in two different locations and pray in the streets.

Outright misinformation like this is rife in the Tea Party movement, and builds off misinformation found on stalwart rightist websites like Townhall.com and WorldNetDaily.com and promoted by FOX news personality Glenn Beck. Sometimes, like this email, it seems to be produced by dedicated freelance troublemakers — popular propagandists.

In late July, I encountered a year-old piece of misinformation from a local couple who were rushing to attend the Americans for Prosperity campaign rally against Nevada Sen. Harry Reid and other Democrats. Owners of a pottery studio, Bob and Dot Donaghy moved to Nevada 15 years ago during boom times and now were concerned that “Nevada is in trouble. We’re 50th in education, first in unemployment and foreclosures, 15th in getting money from the government.”

This last statistic is from the Washington,

D.C.-based Tax Foundation, and I heard it from Tea Partiers all over the state. It’s used to undercut Reid, who says he is bringing home the bacon — in this case, federal tax dollars to benefit Nevada. But it’s a distorted snapshot that validates anti-federal government, anti-tax activists in their belief that they are being ripped off. The reality is that Nevada, to remain the lowest-taxed state in the union, doesn’t sign up for the options offered by Medicaid and other federal programs that would bring in more money to the state coffers but require matching funds.

Bob Donaghy went on to say, “We’re not socialist-type people and [Reid] is. It’s really about fiscal responsibility, protecting our constitutional rights. The government needs to pay as we go, not put our children in debt. The Republicans, like the Democrats, have reached the point where they are entrenched politicians. Once they start receiving money over the years from lobbyists, they are no longer thinking about what’s best for the United States.”

A lot of people would agree with him. But then he started talking about Detroit, and the misinformation came into play. “You know Reid and Obama took over the auto industry — Chrysler and General Motors. If a dealership donated to the Democratic Party, they kept it. If a dealer donated to the



JEFF FAERBER

Republican Party, they closed it. It’s backed up by multiple sources.”

And he’s right — about the sources that is. Right-wing bloggers led by Doug Ross pushed this idea in May 2009, and Phyllis Schlafly picked up on it in her Townhall column. It was quickly debunked, even by the conservative Heritage Foundation. But the story won’t die because it encapsulates all the Tea Party fears of a socialist government that runs roughshod over small-businesspeople like car dealers and the Tea Party activist himself. They think government is destroying the U.S. economy with its big spending and favoritism.

It felt like everyone I interviewed in Nevada’s bubbling conservative scene was a small-businessperson or a retiree who had sold his or her business and is now clinging

to the lifeboat so they won’t be tipped by the waves of the economic crisis and the grasping needs of government.

Women said they were fighting for their children’s future by leading the charge against deficits. One person called Medicare and Social Security “a Ponzi scheme” that will collapse without even being dismantled. Many dismissed as “socialist” or class warfare the Keynesian idea that government must invest in the economy and jobs when the private sector is stuck. Embracing trickle-down economics like a life jacket, they saw cutting taxes as the only way to soothe the churning waters. And those who disagreed with them were un-American or, for some, dangerous internal enemies who are destroying America.

*Continued on page 12*

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Kentucky’s Rand Paul gained instant infamy when he argued the federal government has no business enforcing integration in private businesses. Nevada’s Sharron Angle has said, “We need to phase Medicare and Social Security out in favor of something privatized.” New York’s Carl Paladino says he’ll “clean out Albany with a baseball bat.” Ohio’s Steve Stivers suggests eliminating “the Departments of Agriculture, Education, Interior, Housing and Urban Development, Transportation, Energy and others to return to a constitutionally pure government.” Delaware’s Christine O’Donnell favors a complete ban on abortion, and, of course, thinks masturbation is equivalent to adultery.

ideology by defending real Americans and traditional values and institutions.

Ideologues and opinion-makers spin any redistributive policy as a zero-sum game; progressive policies give to undeserving groups by taking wealth from or denying rights to deserving Americans and institutions. Since Obama took office, the rise of the Tea Party has made the Republicans even more strident in their opposition. The GOP has fought against every Democratic policy — including the stimulus bill, jobs programs, aid to local governments, court appointees, labor rights, healthcare, financial regulation, Net neutrality, unemployment benefits, expanded access to food stamps and Head Start, action on global warming and immigrant rights — because it claims that some sort of theft of money or rights is involved.

Sara Diamond neatly summarizes the politics behind the right’s obstructionism in her book, *Roads To Dominion*. She writes, “To be right-wing means to support the state in its capacity as *enforcer* of order and to oppose the state as *distributor* of wealth and power downward and more equitably in society” (emphasis in original). These principles, in turn, flow from four interrelated political philosophies that animate the modern right: militarism, neoliberalism, traditionalism and white supremacism.

MARKET ANARCHY

The heart of the right’s agenda is neoliberalism, which is the rule of the “free market” above all else. It demands that everything be a commodity, all actions be judged according to cost-benefit analysis, every realm be opened to capital’s predations, all human needs subjugated to those of finance. Yet, left unchecked, neoliberalism would result in market anarchy and the dissolution of social solidarities, David Harvey argues in *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher summed up the neoliberal worldview: “There is no such thing as society, but only individuals.”

Faced with market nihilism, “some degree of coercion appears necessary to restore order,” writes Harvey. Enter the neoconservatives, who play a crucial role resolving the contradictions between neoliberalism and traditionalism through militarism. Harvey explains that they “emphasize militarization as an antidote to the chaos of individual interests. For this reason, they are far more likely to highlight threats, real or imagined, both at home and abroad, to the integrity and stability of the nation.”

Militarism is just the means, however. To mobilize support for repressive methods, the right stokes the passions and fears of its base by posing traditional values as under attack: the family, God, marriage, America, private property, law and order and freedom itself. These values are often linked to neoliberalism and contrasted with “collectivism,” which is presented as a looming danger to both property and God. This also bridges the ideological gap between the religious right and the free-market right.

For example, the Bible can easily be read as a socialist document. But the role of money-driven ministries and televangelism among evangelicals is expressed in the doctrine known as “prosperity gospel” — “the belief that God rewards signs of faith with wealth, health and happiness.” As many evangelicals are actual or would-be entrepreneurs, this idea is readily accepted. It’s a small step to convince them that unions promote secular collectivism that threatens private religious values, thus creating a theological rationale for neoliberal policies.

Now, I use “the right” instead of “Republican” or even “conservative” to describe the movement and its ideas. Until recent years, there was a breed of socially liberal, fiscally conservative Republican that retained a foothold in the GOP. These Republicans provided critical support for civil rights and other progressive legislation. But starting in the sixties, socially liberal Republicans began to drift toward the Democratic Party, while Jim Crow-loving Democrats shifted to the GOP. So while the right may now overlap significantly with the Republican Party, it wasn’t always so. More important, as shown by the Christian Right and the Tea Party, the right will try to purge those Republicans deemed not sufficiently orthodox, making the party more and more extreme.

While the Tea Party is a genuine mass movement, much of its funding comes from right-wing foundations through front groups, and its politics are anti-government, anti-labor, pro-corporate and often socially conservative, which is the same agenda the right has been pushing for more than 30 years.

BUCKLEY, GOLDWATER AND WALLACE

The roots of right-wing obstruction are represented by three pivotal historical figures: William F. Buckley, Jr., Barry Goldwater and George Wallace.

“The father of modern conservatism,” Buckley proclaimed his intention to stand “athwart history, yelling Stop!” in founding *National Review* in 1955. He knit together traditionalism, free-market ideology and anti-Communism in opposing the distribution of power and wealth and supporting the imposition of social order. In the 1950s, he dismissed civil rights legislation because Southern whites were “the advanced race.” He inveighed against the 1965 Voting Rights Act as threatening “chaos” and “mobcratic rule.” While opposing basic freedoms for all people because it threatened the traditional order, he was for using force to impose gulag-like policies such as quarantining drug addicts and tattooing people with AIDS on their buttocks. He suggested “relocating chronic welfare cases” to “rehabilitation centers.”

Buckley was not alone in believing progressive policies eroded traditional mores and institutions. Barry Goldwater, who was trounced as the Republican presidential nominee in 1964, voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, calling it “unconstitutional.” He fought school desegregation and the desegregation of public accommodations, claiming it “tampers with the rights of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of property.” He railed against federal aid to schools, the minimum wage, Medicare and the entire welfare state because “socialism can be achieved through welfarism.” He opposed the progressive income tax because it artificially “enforce[ed] equality among unequal men.” One of Goldwater’s informal advisers in 1964 was economist Milton Friedman, who saw nothing wrong with racial discrimination in employment because it was a matter of “taste.” Many campaign volunteers came from the conspiratorial John Birch Society, which labeled integration a Communist plot. Within Goldwater’s campaign one can see how various segments of the right united in opposing racial equality, but each for different reasons.

In contrast to Buckley, Goldwater was no religious traditionalist, but he did combine libertarianism and anti-Communism. He hewed to a secular traditionalism forged from patriotism, the Constitution and frontier mythology, and was far more open-

minded on social issues, making clear his contempt for the Christian Right when it began to take over the Republican Party in the 1980s.

A contemporary of Goldwater, former Alabama Gov. George Wallace swept the Deep South in the 1968 presidential election running on a segregationist platform. He represented yet another form of traditionalism, one that stoked fears that “blacks were moving beyond their safely encapsulated ghettos into ‘our’ streets, ‘our’ schools, ‘our’ neighborhoods,” according to Dan Carter, author of *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution*.

Wallace pioneered the race-based appeals that still excite the populist right today. But he was also a deft cultural warrior who, writes Carter, “knew that a substantial percentage of the American electorate despised the civil rights agitators and antiwar demonstrators as symptoms of a fundamental decline in the traditional cultural compass of God, family and country, a decline reflected in rising crime rates, the legalization of abortion, the rise in out-of-wedlock pregnancies, the increase in divorce rates, and the proliferation of ‘obscene’ literature and films.” Add gay marriage, Islamophobia and immigration, and you pretty much have the right’s culture-war agenda of today.

The right’s need for enemies is coded in its political DNA. Without enemies to defeat, vanquish and even destroy, the right would suffer an existential crisis. For Goldwater it was the Communist menace; for Wallace, integrationists and intellectuals; for Nixon, liberals, antiwar activists and black radicals; for Reagan, labor, welfare queens and the Evil Empire; for Gingrich and his cohorts it was gays, feminists, welfare mothers and the Democrats; during the Bush years, it was Islam, immigrants, gays and abortionists; for the Tea Party, Glenn Beck and Sarah Palin, it’s all of the above.

MOBILIZING RESENTMENT

There is one final step in how the right mobilizes grassroots support behind an obstructionist agenda. Few people ponder theory when making political decisions. That’s why mobilizing group resentment and solidarity simultaneously is so effective. It gives people a way to see both enemies and allies in their daily lives. In the case of immigrants, the narrative is about “illegals” stealing jobs and social services from taxpayers. In the case of the Obama administration, the story is that taxes are being stolen from hard-working Americans to support parasites ranging from welfare recipients to Wall Street bankers.

Chip Berlet, a scholar at Political Re-

search Associates, describes this as “producerism.” He defines it as “a worldview in which people in the middle class feel they are being squeezed from above by crippling taxes, government bureaucracies and financial elites while simultaneously being pushed around, robbed, and shoved aside by an underclass of ‘lazy, sinful and subversive freeloaders.’ The idea is that unproductive parasites above and below are bleeding the productive middle class dry.”

Segments of the right use producerism differently, explains Berlet. “Economic libertarians blast the government for high taxes and too much regulation of business. Anti-immigrant xenophobes blast the government for letting ‘illegals’ steal their jobs and increase their taxes. Christian fundamentalists blast the government for allowing the lazy, sinful and subversive elements to ruin society.” In recent history, Wallace and Nixon used producerist rhetoric to mobilize white working-class resentment against blacks.

Producerism is premised on other techniques. First, argues Berlet, a group of people are dehumanized so they are seen as objects, and then they are demonized as evil. Next, the group is scapegoated irrationally for specific problems. Lou Dobbs mastered this process in defining undocumented immigrants as “illegal,” then spouting dubious claims about immigrants being responsible for crime waves and disease outbreaks, and finally blaming them for stealing jobs and social services. FOX News used the same process in its hit job on ACORN.

Within the Tea Party movement, much of the anger is directed at immigrants, African-Americans, social welfare and equality in general. Among Tea Partiers, 73 percent think “Blacks would be as well off as whites if they just tried harder”; 73 percent believe “providing government benefits to poor people encourages them to remain poor”; 60 percent believe “we have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country”; 56 percent think “immigrants take jobs from Americans”; 92 percent want a smaller government with “fewer services”; 92 percent think Obama’s policies are moving the country toward socialism; only 7 percent approve of Obama’s performance as president; and a combined 5 percent identify themselves as black, Asian or of Hispanic origin.

One survey found that identifying as a conservative or a Tea Party supporter was an accurate predictor of racial resentment. Additionally, only one-third were opposed to the government tapping people’s telephones and racial or religious profiling, and barely half opposed indefinite detention without trial. This is a movement that thrives on opposing the distribution of power and wealth more equitably in society and imposing a repressive social order.

THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR VIOLENT REVOLUTION

With nearly 60 percent of Tea Partiers believing Obama is foreign-born or saying they are not sure, it becomes clear why so many on the right have adopted violent and revolutionary rhetoric. The thinking is he’s a foreigner or a Muslim or stole the election, so he is alien and illegitimate. As such, it makes sense he is pushing an alien idea like socialism that may be part of some grand conspiracy like the New World Order, the North American Union, the Bilderberg Group or Satan. (In a poll last September in New Jersey, not known as a hotbed of right-wing radicalism, 29 percent of Republicans thought Obama was the Antichrist or were unsure.)

WHO’S WHO IN THE TEA PARTY



With polls estimating self-identified supporters at 11–30 percent of the general population, the Tea Party is clearly a mass movement. Data indicates the base is made up of older white Christian conservatives, and many have above-average incomes.

At the same time, corporate and Republican operatives, money and pundits — from those in the spotlight, such as Sarah Palin and Glenn Beck, to those in the shadows, like Sal Russo and the Koch brothers — have shaped and directed the movement. Here are a few prominent players.

**SAL RUSSO** — A Republican consultant who got his start during Ronald Reagan’s tenure as governor of California, Russo is credited with securing Christine O’Donnell’s primary victory for Delaware’s open Senate seat by using his email list of 400,000 names to generate support, volunteers and contributions for her campaign. He is also called the brains behind the Tea Party Express.

**TEA PARTY EXPRESS** — Formed by Sal Russo and his consulting firm, this political action committee spent \$600,000 in Joe Miller’s Senate primary victory in Alaska and hundreds of thousands in ads for Scott Brown’s upset win for Massachusetts’ open Senate seat and has been funding attack ads against Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid. It has raised and spent more than \$6.5 million in this election cycle as of Sept. 30 and has funneled some \$2 million of that through Russo’s firm and an affiliate, King Media Group.

**GLENN BECK** — With enterprises including the online “Glenn Beck University,” *Fusion Magazine*, Glennbeck.com and the “9/12 Project,” Beck is “the most highly regarded individual among Tea Party supporters” with a daily audience estimated at 2 million. He raked in \$32 million in 2009 peddling conspiracies of a socialist takeover of government, an abolition of U.S. borders and the collapse of the U.S. dollar, and he has mused on air about killing Michael Moore and poisoning House Speaker Nancy Pelosi. Beck’s violent rhetoric has inspired one fan, Byron Williams, to try to assassinate employees at the Tides Foundation, a frequent Beck target.

**AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY** — Bankrolled by Charles and David H. Koch, brothers with an estimated wealth of \$43 billion from oil, gas and chemical holdings, this “Astroturf” group has fought against the stimulus bill, organized more than 300 rallies against healthcare legislation and launched an anti-global-warming national tour; it is a leading trainer and organizer of Tea Party activists and chapters.

**SARAH PALIN** — A favorite among the Tea Party movement, Palin has successfully anointed many victors in Republican congressional primaries who beat out GOP establishment-backed candidates.

**FREEDOMWORKS** — Run by former House Republican Majority Leader Dick Armey, this lobby group provides nuts-and-bolts support for the Tea Party such as writing press releases, organizing local events, publishing guides on media messaging and training activists. It was a key player behind the first big Tea Party event, the April 15 Tax Day protest in 2009, and has also organized against healthcare and climate change legislation.



MIKE NIEMIEC

Continued on page 12

# The Tea Party of No

BY ARUN GUPTA

That these and other Tea Party-backed candidates in the 2010 elections are against all sorts of progressive legislation and even government itself is unsettling, but easy to dismiss as aberrations. This would be a mistake. The new crop of candidates may be clumsy in their presentation, but many will ride the Republican tide to victory this November. And far from being an aberration, the Tea Party is just the latest incarnation of a Republican Party that thrives on being the “Party of No.”

For decades, the right has opposed any legislation or policy involving social, economic or political progress: civil rights, school desegregation, women’s rights, labor organizing, the minimum wage, Social Security, LGBTQ rights, welfare, immigrant rights, public education, reproductive rights, Medicare and Medicaid. And through the years the right invoked hysterical rhetoric in opposition, predicting such policies would result in the end-of-family-free-enterprise-God-America on the one hand, and the imposition of atheism-socialism-Nazism on the other.

Republicans are obstructionist for one simple reason: It’s a winning strategy. Opposing progressive policies allows the right to actualize the ideals that both motivate and define its base. Rightist ideologies are not without sophistication, but right-wing politicians and media figures distill them to a crude Manichean dualism to mobilize supporters based on group difference: good vs. evil, us vs. them. By demonizing and scapegoating politically marginal groups — Blacks, Muslims, gays, immigrants — the right is able to define “real Americans,” who are good, versus those defined as parasites, illegitimate and internal threats, who are evil.

There is a critical paradox at work. The Republicans have deftly turned being the “Party of No” into a positive stance: They signal to their base they are working to defeat an alien

Republicans are obstructionist for one simple reason: It’s a winning strategy. Opposing progressive policies allows the right to actualize the ideals that both motivate and define its base.



# Viagra for an Impotent America

BY PETER BRATSIS

**T**he emergence of the Tea Party movement is the most significant development in U.S. politics since the election of Obama.



LUCY VALKYRIE

Although right-wing parties are on the rise throughout the West, in Sweden, France, Italy and elsewhere, the speed and scale of the growth of the Tea Party has been extraordinary.

Commentators and analysts such as Paul Krugman have downplayed this troubling development by labeling it an “Astroturf” movement — one conceived and financed by corporate interests. Even if it is true that the Tea Party is organized and supported through corporate wealth and pimped through Fox News and other likeminded apparatuses, this in no way takes away from the scale and depth of support that actually exist for it and its values. Indeed, populist movements inherently involve an alliance of some fraction of the dominant classes with a significant portion of the dominated classes.

In truth, we face the sobering reality that capitalism’s latest crisis — complete with bank failures, corporate bailouts, rising unemployment,

and declining wages — has aided the right, not the left. How can we explain the capacity of the right to benefit from and redirect the bitterness and discontent that derives from capitalism’s own failures?

The Tea Party movement should be understood as a political response to the crisis. While it was spurred into existence by the current economic malaise, any attempt to understand the Tea Party purely in economic terms is bound to fail. Take two of the chief concerns: reducing taxes and the federal debt. Leaders and followers alike rail about cutting taxes, but the super-rich will benefit the most, not Joe the Plumber. Reducing taxes and deficits concurrently will mean kneecapping government and crippling Medicare and Social Security, which are lifelines to those over 50 years old — the demographic heart of this new movement. Indeed, middle classes clamoring for a decrease in public spending and services is the opposite of what one would expect.

In fact, the Tea Party eschews economic, self-interested behavior when it comes to political life. Party supporters think that things have gone awry precisely because Americans are driven by the nihilistic pursuit of self-interest. For them, a growing permissiveness and abandonment of core principles plagues the United States. The movement trades in the

language and images of freeloading and criminal immigrants, self-serving and spendthrift politicians, drug-addicted and lazy welfare recipients, unpatriotic and oversexed liberals, seditious Muslims and so on. In all cases, it is the inability of such groups to overcome their own particularity, their own self-interest and desires, that functions as the key problem.

This simple principle allows Tea Partiers to understand their own personal misery and lack of satisfaction as well as the perceived decline of U.S. political and economic prowess. If greedy bankers and labor unions, corrupt and servile politicians, and free-riding law-breaking immigrants behaved in a more disciplined and principled manner, then we would finally be able to enjoy our own lives and the United States could go back to its former greatness. The Tea Party is attempting to renew U.S. potency through the rediscovery of the capacity to put off pleasure, to not be a slave to selfish drives. It is an attempt at revolution in the same sense that the “founding fathers” would have understood the term, as going back to the original state of things, or, more precisely, going back to some mythical version of the original state of things.

By evoking the Boston Tea Party, the movement is both referencing the national

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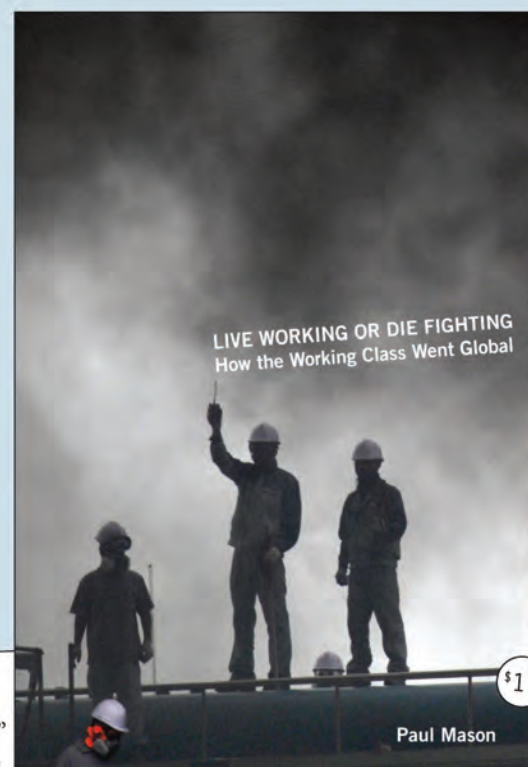
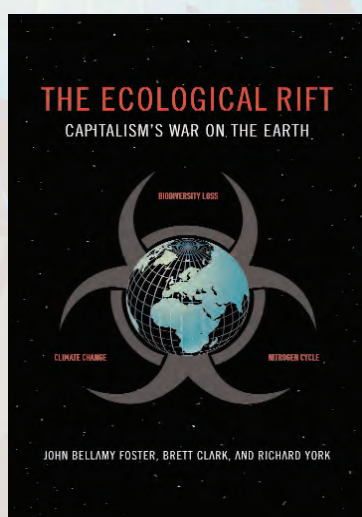
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founding and celebrating patriotic pleasure and sacrifice, the satisfaction achieved from smashing barrels of tea and risking arrest for the benefit of the nation. The resurgence of militias and the repeated references to guns and violence in Tea Party discourse, such as Sarah Palin's "Don't retreat, reload," are directly related to this desire to regain the phallus, our potency and capacity for satisfaction. Palin often reminds us of the virtues of being a pit bull with lipstick, of defending and serving the family even when it might be difficult or costly (such as deciding to give birth to and raise a child with learning difficulties). Even Christine O'Donnell's moralizing against masturbation makes sense in this context: being able to resist sexual urges is a training of the self to not be driven by pleasure seeking.

Returning to an era when the United States was economically and politically powerful, thus, corresponds with the desire to restore order and to put things back in their place. It is expressed by reasserting the core values of Christianity: self-control and people knowing their place in society (not least Obama who, after all, belongs in Africa according to many). Tea Party supporters imagine a return to an orderly and selfless society where they could finally achieve satisfaction and the United States would regain its potency.

Obviously, this desire to return to a society that is not driven by self-interest and where everyone knows their place cannot be realized. This America never existed and never will exist. More to the point, the fundamental drive of market society is one of utility seeking and of rapid change, as summed up by Joseph Schumpeter's "creative destruction" and Karl Marx's "all that is solid melts into air." Capitalism without greed or excess is the impossible political vision of the Tea Party.

The Tea Party discourse taps into the passions and pleasures of many Americans. The satisfactions that come with being frugal, balancing a checkbook, sacrificing for one's children, waking up every morning and getting to work on time are displaced onto their political identities. The passion that Tea Party supporters display is a result of this displacement. They are defending these satisfactions from perceived threats that are imaginary.

Tea Partiers are merely expressing their self-loathing and the inability to reconcile their selfishness, consumerism and utility-maximizing behaviors with their own self-images of civic and moral responsibility. We are faced with contradictory social demands, to be greedy market-oriented individuals and, concurrently, self-sacrificing patriotic defenders of the common good. Similarly,

we are constantly confronted with the discontent, alienation and lack of meaning within modern life and the impossible goal of achieving satisfaction through market life and consumerism. These core contradictions and tensions become externalized and take on the face of the "immigrant" the "liberal" the "politician" or the "Muslim."

The Tea Party movement has woven together an ingenious populist discourse, drawing upon the displaced sexual energy of many Americans and using that energy and passion to mount an attack on a large and nebulous set of groups and interests that, presumably, lie behind our current crisis. No doubt there is plenty of racism, sexism and xenophobia within the movement. Indeed, it is again acceptable to be openly racist and heterosexist in American politics, as evidenced by the continuing legitimacy of Carl Paladino's candidacy.

The right has capitalized on the current anxieties and systemic failures of liberal capitalism, and it has marshaled this discontent toward a reactionary movement that chases a proto-fascist vision of a society without greed or any other excess.

It may not be that Palin and O'Donnell are reading Carl Schmitt, Jacques Lacan, Leo Strauss and Antonio Gramsci, fine-tuning the Tea Party project, but someone likely is. The left needs to take heed. The right has

obvious advantages in terms of resources, including media access. But they are also outthinking us.

The left does not have a comparable political project, one that is able to draw upon the libidinal dimension of contemporary life and meld it with a universal political principle, one that is able to negotiate the contradictions inherent to modernity and use that discontent toward the establishment of a revolutionary future. If anything, we only come up with partial repetitions of the Tea Party discourse itself, weak denunciations of corporate greed and market brutality, a limp moralistic message that conforms to the desire for order and the taming of excess.

The left needs to articulate a much more substantive political project, one that goes beyond simple questions of redistributing some wealth and defending civil liberties and rights. A new world may be possible, but does anyone, even on the left, want one? If the Tea Party gives voice to the desire for order and security, where is the desire for purposeful social transformation and revolutionary change?

*Peter Bratsis teaches political theory at the University of Salford. He is the author of Everyday Life and the State and an editor of the journal Situations.*



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# Party of No

*Continued from page 9*

However irrational this position may be, the logical consequences are not: Anything Obama and the Democrats do must be opposed because it is a life-and-death struggle. In opposing the healthcare plan, the right is not just trying to deny services to the underserving, it is affirming and protecting free choice, family, the sanctity of life, the market, God, country, the Constitution — all arguments trotted out in the last year.

At the same time, the Obama administration has helped build the Tea Party by aiding Wall Street rather than Main Street. The Republicans have exploited legitimate anxieties over high unemployment, a shrinking economy and onerous taxes by scapegoating the weak and marginal for policies that are structural and historical in nature.

The lesson for Obama and Democrats is not that they went too far to the “left,” it’s

that they went too far to the right. Obama had the political capital to push for a “Green New Deal” that could have restructured the transportation and energy sectors and created millions of new jobs. Slashing the bloated military budget while fighting for single-payer healthcare — instead of subsidizing for-profit healthcare with tax dollars — budget deficits could have been constrained while reducing the financial burden of medical bills for most U.S. households. Implementing such an agenda could have created a mass constituency that would fight for a progressive vision and against the right’s repressive politics.

The right has well-thought-out ideologies, a specific agenda and clearly defined enemies and ruthlessly pursues power to achieve its goals. It’s fighting a Democratic White House and Party that stand for nothing — that is why being the “Party of No” will continue to be a winning strategy for Republicans.

# Fear and Loathing

*Continued from page 7*

I heard a Tea Party myth riffing on this theme from an educated professional’s wife. She had a variation of the “Obama is an imposter” line. He’s not a Muslim, he is a Communist. Her proof was a story popularized by Glenn Beck that the Kansas-bred Anglo grandparents who helped raise Obama “belonged to the communist view” because they attended a “little red church” during the 1950s. That’s a Unitarian church near Seattle that Obama’s grandparents and mother briefly attended before moving to Hawaii. The current pastor says the church was tarred because of the “effects of McCarthyism.” Based on little more than that, Beck has called Obama’s grandparents and mother Communists and un-American.

The auto bailouts and healthcare reform are bringing old anti-Communist politics to life as people reach back for a framework that fits their outrage. When Delaware’s Christine O’Donnell calls Obama “anti-American,” as she did on Fox News after winning the primary, this is where she is coming from.

Lynn Harsh, of the conservative State Policy Network, told participants at an Americans for Prosperity conference in Las Vegas that when they blog, they have to be more careful to verify their sources. “If you are going to create change, it’s got to seem credible and safe,” she said. “And we need to do better there. We need to be a lot smarter.”

But she was speaking at a conference funded by the Koch brothers’ oil fortune where climate-change deniers headlined a workshop. Does Lynn Harsh agree with Americans for Prosperity that scientists are manufacturing data about human-generated climate change? Or does she keep mum about her disagreement to keep the climate-denying funders of the conference happy, a trade-off conservatives have made throughout their movement, laying the groundwork for Tea Party myth-making?

In the 2008 presidential race, top conservatives backing John McCain slammed Obama as a socialist and insinuated he was un-American. It was nothing Sean Hannity and Rush Limbaugh weren’t saying. But by legitimizing the revival of McCarthy-style politics, some establishment Republicans are now finding the rhetoric being turned against them. In Nevada, a coalition of Tea Partiers and Ron Paul supporters took over the Las

Vegas-area Clark County Republican Party (CCRP) and the state party structures in a swirl of conspiratorial denunciation against the conservative GOP establishment.

“Most of us who left are indeed fiscal conservatives and ardent supporters of constitutional rights, so the ‘Marxist’ accusation is a reflection of the deep paranoia and delusion within the current CCRP leadership,” said the (very conservative) former CCRP chairman after he stepped down.

One unrepentant Tea Partier replied, “If we have to purge the RINOs (Republicans in Name Only) from power before we purge the fascists in power, so be it.” He is, in the words of historian Richard Hofstadter, “in a spiritual wrestling match with minions of absolute evil.”

Back in the 1950s, old-style conservatives in the Republican Party felt shut out by the moderates who accepted the New Deal reforms regulating capitalism and providing modest aid for people tossed aside by economic downturns. That the New Deal asserted federal power over the states could mean only a loss of political sovereignty and American liberty. Feeling disenfranchised not just by Washington but parts of their own party, the Republican right nurtured the McCarthy-bred universe of betrayal, suspicion and conspiracy in an effort to win back power. They failed, until the 1960s and the debacle of Barry Goldwater’s presidential campaign.

Many of today’s Tea Partiers inhabit a similar universe but start out with the backing of important party insiders like Indiana Rep. Mike Pence and South Carolina Sen. Jim DeMint, and money-soaked political operatives like the anti-tax Club for Growth and Sal Russo, a former Reagan strategist who leads the Tea Party Express Political Action Committee. Like their McCarthy-era counterparts, the free-marketers ally with conspiracy- and hate-mongering to win back power. Unlike the days of McCarthy, they have a mainstream television news network and internet sites on their side. It is a dirty business. And other than shunning them — and articulating a clear, simple vision of our own — we are no savvier about how to stop the fever than our predecessors were in the ’50s.

*Abby Scher is a sociologist and journalist who writes about the U.S. right and economic justice. A version of this article originally appeared in Truthout.*



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# WHY WE SHOULD ALL MOVE TO GERMANY

BY IRINA IVANOVA

*Were You Born on the Wrong Continent?: How the European Model Can Help You Get a Life*

THOMAS GEOGHEGAN  
NEW PRESS, 2010

In the wake of the recession, the plight of the U.S. worker has gone from bad to worse.

But not to worry — labor lawyer and author Thomas Geoghegan has the answer. He confirms what we have all suspected in our darkest moments: life is better in Europe, and in Germany, in particular.

While Americans were overworked before the recession, the current financial crisis has hit Americans with the double-whammy of increased hours (for those who still have jobs) and a spike in living costs. At 1,804 hours a year, Americans clock in 400 hours more than our German counterparts—that's the equivalent of 10 extra 40-hour work weeks each year. Our GDP is higher than Germany's, but only from astronomical spending on private healthcare, childcare and tuition — all of which Germany provides for free, or nearly free, to its citizens.

With his trademark mix of invective and black humor, Geoghegan argues in *Were You Born on the Wrong Continent?* that European-style social democracy benefits the middle- and upper-middle classes even more than the working class, and that, once Americans come to their senses, we may realize it's the only way for our own advanced capitalist economy to survive.

*The Independent* spoke with Geoghegan about why workers are better off in Germany, and why it may not be too late for us.

**IRINA IVANOVA:** *You write that Americans work many more hours than our European counterparts. Why is that?*

**THOMAS GEOGHEGAN:** It's because there's no one to tell us it's okay to go home. Given that there's no restraint on our employers for firing us for any reason at any time, this puts enormous pressure on us, almost like lab rats, to work harder than the lab rat next to us.

**II:** *Does working more hours at least make Americans more productive?*

**TG:** Since productivity is measured on an hourly basis, it's almost a given that the more hours you work the less productive you become. And in the United States there are loads of people who should get paid hourly who don't. If these people were paid by the hour, employers might abandon this system!

Europeans are probably more productive than Americans because Americans tend to undercount their hours and Europeans overcount their hours — there's a shocking degree to which nobody's at work on Friday afternoon in Europe.

**II:** *Why Germany? What sets it apart from other European countries, and what makes it a good example for us to follow?*

**TG:** Of all the countries on planet Earth, Germany's the one country that has the most "worker control" of any other place since the collapse of Communism. It's a capitalist

country, but with a much more pliable form of capitalism. Germany is a creditor nation, and the world's biggest exporter — on par with China. Conversely, the United States is a debtor nation, running a huge trade deficit.

**II:** *In what ways does Germany have the most worker control?*

**TG:** First, they have works councils where employees can actually elect their own representatives. The works councils don't control everything — they don't control the hours of opening and closing, for example — but management has to cut deals with them. Here in the United States we don't have workers engaged in any sort of management.

Second, they have co-determined boards in big global firms with over 2,000 employees. This means that the employees elect one-half of the board.

And on top of all this, they also have unions.

If you don't have unions that put economic issues first, you get much more irrationality in the political process — you get Tea Parties, anti-immigration, you start nominating witches to the Senate — you have no way for people outside of the elite to get involved in the political process.

**II:** *Why is there such opposition in the United States to European-style social democracy?*

**TG:** I think America would be a social democracy if we had a government like European social democracies based on the principle of one person, one vote.

But, as you've seen during the Obama administration, everything has to go through the Senate, where North Dakota has as much sway as New York. The Senate is set up for irrational, even anti-democratic outcomes. It was set up to protect slavery and enforce Jim Crow, and now it's set up to keep unions out. Our legal system creates this culture, and then we turn around and say, 'Well, we have this legal system because we have this culture.'

**II:** *Is there any way for the United States to become more like Germany?*

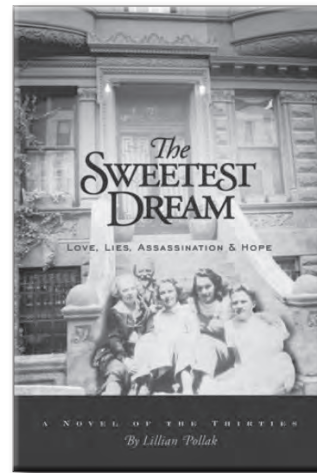
**TG:** It's not just about Germany. Take the top 20 industrialized countries in the world. If 19 of them are going in one direction, and the other one heads in another direction, that's unsustainable.

We're at a point right now where the majority of citizens in the United States, which is a fundamentally European project, are about to become non-white, and that majority may be the agent to turn the United States — paradoxically — into something more European. Our descendants may be a smarter, more diverse, multilingual crew.

But that's not a prediction — it's a hope.

## The SWEETEST Dream

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Lillian Pollack's *The Sweetest Dream* is set in momentous struggles, in the United States and around the world, associated with Trotskyism's first decade and its leader's brutal Stalinist-orchestrated murder in Mexico in 1940. Woven into the plot are illuminating commentaries on the Great Depression, reference to the mass strikes of 1934, and representations of the Spanish Civil War.

Clearly autobiographical, Pollak presents all of this through the eyes of Miriam, a young recruit to Trotskyism in the 1930s. She eventually makes her way to Mexico where she meets Trotsky, his family and friends and those responsible for his safety.

*Born in Hell's Kitchen, NYC 1915, Lillian Pollak became a radical at sixteen, raised three kids, earned two graduate degrees at night and taught school for twenty-five years. Still active, she's now a "Raging Granny" marching and singing for peace.*

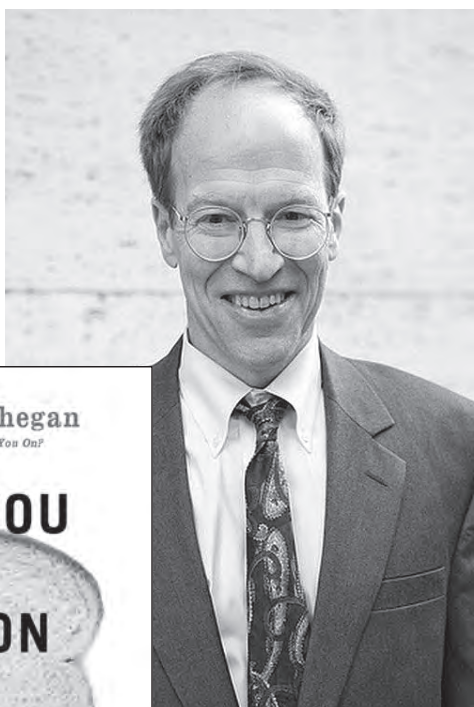
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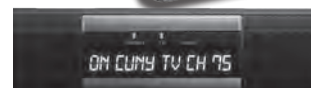
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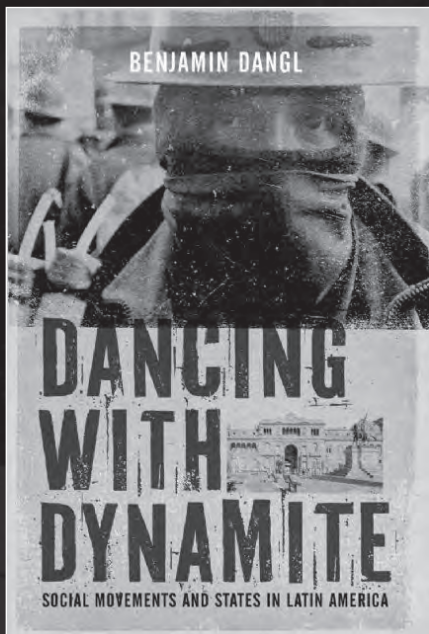
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# THE CHRISTIAN GLORY HOLE

BY NICK POWERS

I'm not able to take enough showers to wipe the smell of him off my body" said Jamal Parris of Bishop Eddie Long. In a recent FOX news interview, Parris spoke of sex before and after church services, and in his lawsuit alleged being sodomized orally in Long's private church office.

If true, imagine the scene of a young man kneeling, giving a blowjob to his pastor. Long stuffs his penis through the young man's lips, heat flushes his face and, overwhelmed, he spasms and floods the boy's mouth.

Minutes later Long is on the stage of New Birth Missionary Baptist Church in Atlanta, as thousands yell and wave in the 10,000-seat megachurch. They have come to hear the Word of God and the pastor opens his arms as if to lift them to Heaven. From backstage Parris watches, scared but proud because this powerful man proved once again that he is special.

Parris, now 23, was 17 at the time and he, along with three other young men — Maurice Robinson, 20, Anthony Flagg, 21, and Spencer LeGrande, 22 — have filed charges against Long for sexual coercion. Long is the latest to join the roster of hypocrites from evangelist Ted Haggard, who condemned gays but had meth-fueled rounds of sex with a man, to the anti-gay activist and Baptist minister George Rekers, who hired an escort from Rentboy.com.

Repeatedly we see professional moralizers secretly practice the very "sin" they condemn. When they're exposed, the scandal is reduced to a story of personal failure. But on CNN, a truth was aired when Rev. Carlton Pearson said, "Usually the people who are speaking most vociferously against something are dealing with it in their own life."

If Long preyed on the young men, it's because he uses religious law as a barricade against his own desires. When he attacked gays for committing "sin," it's because they reflected him. Long preached "the reason why society is like it is, is because men are being feminized and women are becoming masculine." He went on, "I don't care what scientists say, if you say you were born this way then you're saying 'God, you're a liar.'" In 2004, he organized a march in Atlanta from the tomb of Martin Luther King, Jr., to support a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage.

He wasn't alone, as behind him are unknown others ranting against gays, claiming to speak a truth guaranteed by God or nature. But there is another truth. Instead of religious law being an ideal to live by and failure a sin, what if it is the law that creates the sin? What if we saw the human being as a rainbow, a full, wide spectrum of sexuality? We'd see that whoever says that one specific orientation, position or need is the only valid one is trying to create fear in order to control.

The 18th-century poet William Blake knew this when he wrote in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "Prisons are built with stones of Law, Brothels with bricks of Religion." Sigmund Freud wrote about our innate bisexuality, and after thousands of interviews, Alfred Kinsey created his seven-point Kinsey scale to map the diversity of sexuality. Sociologist Howard Becker's labeling theory showed how deviance is not innate to an act, but an act is made deviant by labeling, and philosopher Jacques Derrida's deconstruction explained how centers are created by repressing a part of one's being to the margins.

But the repressed always returns. In *Totem and Taboo* Freud wrote, "The pleasure of the impulse constantly undergoes displacement in

order to escape the blocking which it encounters and seeks to acquire surrogates for the forbidden in the form of substitutive objects and actions." Does this not describe pastor Long's compulsive mentoring of young men?

Long, like many men in authority, sacrificed his sexual truth for power while using his power to prey on boys. When we stop seeing these scandals as personal failures to live up to a law and critique the law itself, a lot of unneeded suffering will stop. It seems that would take a miracle, but since Long believes in miracles let's imagine one.

While basking in the stage lights, the boy walks up and kisses him. The stunned church is silent. Long grabs the boy's arms but instead of thrusting him away, embraces and kisses deeper. In the audience, Bibles burst into flame and as the video feed goes global, men see it and begin to kiss as Korans and Torahs and Bibles flash into flames.

At bars, men grope. At mosques and police stations, men tongue each other. Above their heads on the TV is Long kneeling in front of the unzipped boy. The audience of New Birth Church, half-dressed, is necking in the orange light of burning Bible pages floating down around them.





## THIRD PARTIES

Continued from page 4

So are the Greens and the Freedom Party competing for the same 50,000 votes? “There is definitely some overlap,” says Dunlea. “We hope we both get a ballot line.”

Barron says he supports the Greens on environmental issues, but says they are “not addressing life-and-death issues in the black and Latino communities. We are the only party that’s been there.” He also emphasizes that he is the only third-party candidate in the race who is a sitting elected official.

Dunlea says the Greens had discussions with Barron in 1998 about creating a joint third party, but that Barron wanted to retain the option of working within the Democrats. Greens have merged with similar black-led parties in Boston and Washington, D.C., he adds.

### FUSION VOTING

New York law is distinctive in that it allows third parties to endorse other parties’ candidates. This has given the state a history of third parties that either ran their own candidates or used their “cross-endorsements” to pull the Democrats or the Republicans to the left or the right. In the 1930s and 1940s, the leftist American Labor Party (ALP) helped elect progressive Republican Fiorello LaGuardia mayor over a machine Democrat. Representative Vito Marcantonio, a socialist who represented East Harlem in Congress for 14 years, was an ALP member.

The Liberal Party was established in 1944

as an anti-Communist alternative to the ALP. Its high point came in 1969, when it endorsed liberal Republican John Lindsay for mayor after he lost the GOP primary. With the Republican and Democrat both running on law-and-order platforms and splitting the white-backlash vote, Lindsay squeaked to re-election. But by the 1990s, the Liberals had degenerated into a corrupt patronage machine, endorsing Rudy Giuliani in exchange for jobs for the party chief’s sons. They lost their ballot line in 2002.

On the right, the Conservative Party emerged in the early ’60s. It won a U.S. Senate seat in 1970, when James Buckley beat out a Democrat and a Republican who opposed the war in Vietnam. This year, after some machinations, it’s supporting Paladino.

Currently, the most successful practitioner of cross-endorsement is the Working Families Party (WFP), which is primarily backed by the state’s labor unions. It rarely runs independent candidates; it is endorsing Cuomo, arguing that people should vote for him on its line in order to preserve progressive leverage over him.

The WFP’s main asset is its grassroots organizational muscle, which it has used to promote numerous progressives in the Democratic primaries. Last month, it spearheaded Bronx Democrat Gustavo Rivera’s successful campaign to unseat state Senator Pedro Espada.

The Independence Party, the state’s top third party, has a checkered history. Founded in 1991 as the New York vehicle for Ross Perot’s presidential campaign, it was also the vehicle for Rochester billionaire B. Thomas



**PERSISTENT:** Longtime Syracuse labor and environmental activist Howie Hawkins (left) is running for governor on the Green Party ticket. PHOTO: CAMPAIGN WEBSITE

Golisano’s political ambitions. For almost a decade, it was dominated by the New Alliance Party (NAP), a Jew-hating psychotherapy cult posing as a leftist, pro-black group. During that period, it endorsed Michael Bloomberg for mayor and got several hundred thousand dollars from his campaign, and NAP leaders also received several mil-

lion dollars in state contracts.

Real-estate interests are now trying to finance the Independence Party as a counterweight to the WFP. It has endorsed Cuomo for governor, and it is supporting a mix of Democrats and Republicans for Congress.

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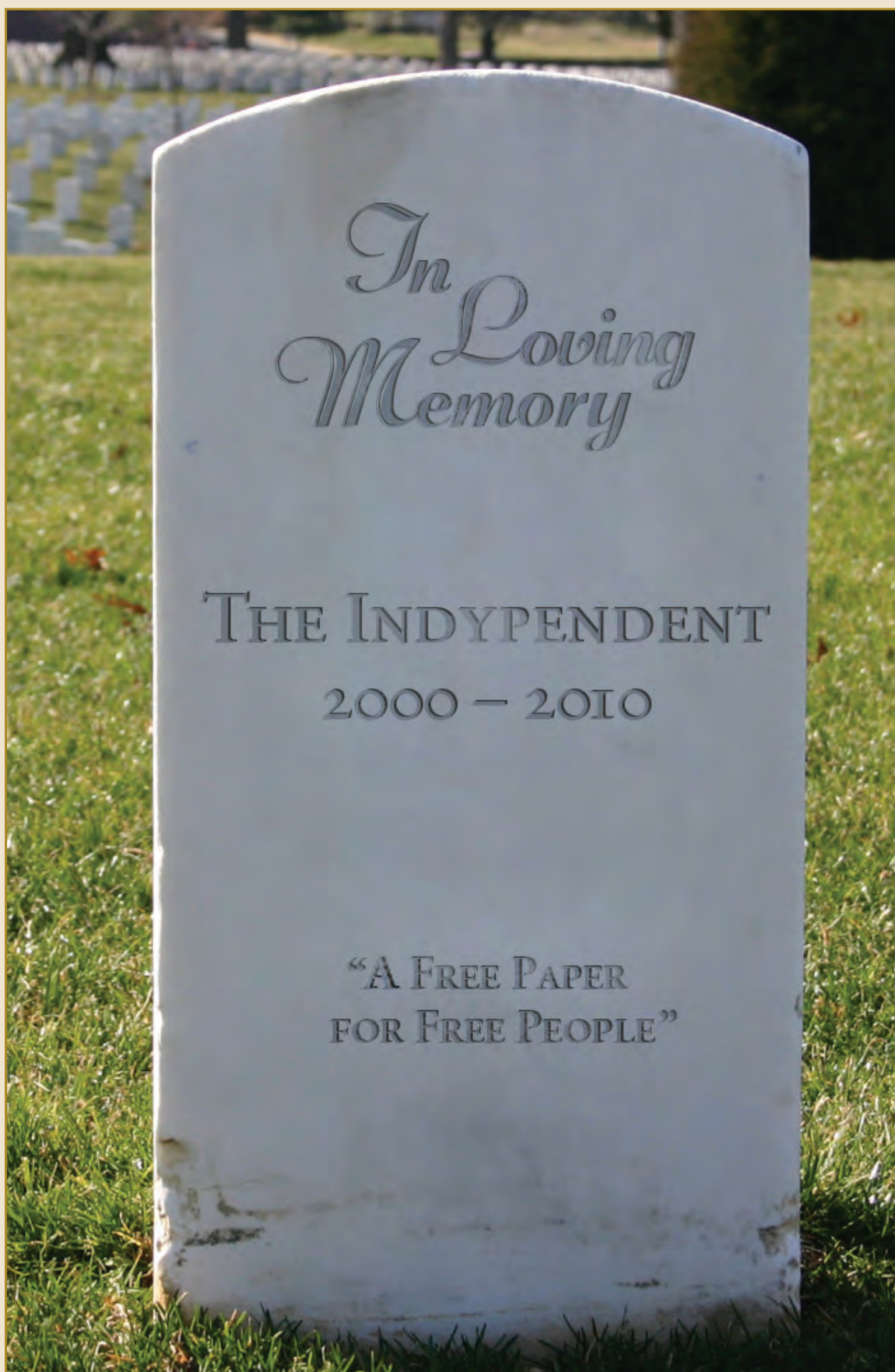
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